

it is the Republican plan, the Republican proposal, or the Democratic response, unless and until we deal honestly with the issue of actually coming into balancing, we are not going to be able to succeed. With the President's initial budget, the deficit began to decline, the rate of the deficit declined. That is to say, the absolute number of the deficit has gone down. The rate of the deficit has gone down. It has done so for 3 years. This has not happened since 1948 and the Truman administration. This is what needs to be done.

Instead of the hacksaw approach, instead of the meat-ax approach, we need to take a gradual approach that will see to it that we are able to meet our obligations to Social Security, able to meet our obligations to our children, able to meet our obligations to our national defense, able to meet our obligations to ourselves as a society. Only then when we are truly honest with ourselves about what the deficit will be, how to get it down gradually, and I have indicated that there are ways of doing that, paying for our capital expenditures the way cities, States, and families do, paying for our operating expenses within a budget that recognizes the fact that we do not operate on a year-to-year basis and other such reforms, I think we can achieve that goal.

Until that time, Mr. Speaker, I remain most reluctant to countenance people coming to the floor and elsewhere and making the pronouncement that they are balancing the budget when they are in fact shifting the deficit and actually attacking the Social Security trust fund in order to provide the basis for that rhetorical device. Unless and until, Mr. Speaker, we deal honestly with the American people as to what the costs of Government actually are to meet our fundamental obligations, we will find ourselves subject to that kind of illusion. And the people who will have to pay for it will be our children, will be our grandchildren.

They will look back on this time and say, they knew because somewhere, somehow, if only in the record of this Congress, somebody will be reading through the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and say, it was there. They were on the floor. It is not just NEIL ABERCROMBIE talking about it. It is the USA Today. It is Bill Welch in USA Today. It is Lars-Eric Nelson in the Daily News. It is even the Washington Post editorial writers, when they get around to being halfway honest about the Social Security trust fund borrowing or embezzling, whatever word you want to use.

It is on this floor now. A dialog and a discussion has been started between Republicans and Democrats, not just between myself and the gentleman from Florida, but others as well. If we want to deal with this, let us pass a budget that admits in 1996 that it is not balanced. But let us make a good-faith effort to try and keep that deficit from rising. Let us keep the rate of the deficit going down. And next year, let

us come back here with a budget reform proposal, a bill, that will put forward a long-term plan, 10 years, 20 years, 30 years. That is what a mortgage is, 30 years, whatever it takes in order to truly balance the budget and truly see to it that we meet our obligations to ourselves, our families, our children, and the heritage of this country.

The SPEAKER pro tempore (Mr. YOUNG of Florida). Under the Speaker's announced policy of May 12, 1995, the gentleman from California [Mr. HORN] is recognized for 60 minutes.

[Mr. HORN addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereinafter in the Extensions of Remarks.]

D.C. FISCAL PROTECTION ACT: CONTINUED

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from the District of Columbia [Ms. NORTON] is recognized for 5 minutes.

Ms. NORTON. Mr. Speaker, this is day 5 of my countdown to help avoid a shutdown of the Federal Government and the District of Columbia and, in addition, to help avoid a month-to-month congressional resolution that would apply to the District of Columbia—because on a month-to-month basis, Mr. Speaker, one cannot run a large, complicated, financially troubled city. There is very promising news carried in this morning's papers across the country that there may be \$100 billion more money than expected, that the program of the administration has worked and that we are seeing the fruits come in. We are told that the President has made a phone call to the Republican leadership and may be coming together with them in the next few days. In any case, Mr. Speaker, they are very close together. There is not a lot of difference between the two.

In particular, the Republican majority said to the President, give us a 7-year plan. Guess what? He did. Now the only way to arrive at an agreement is to get to the details, get the numbers and nobody, surely, would shut down the Government or put the District on a continuing resolution while you are doing the necessary work of getting to the numbers now, that you both have plans.

This morning the President is quoted as saying,

We ought to be able to agree on one thing: Nobody, nobody should threaten to shut down the Government right before Christmas.

I cannot believe there is a single Member who would disagree with that. We in the District are not relaxed, though, because a month-long or a 6-week-long or a 2-week-long continuing resolution will not help us run the District, which is in grave financial distress.

Who would want to shut down the District when the appropriation that is

stuck up here is 85 percent raised from District of Columbia taxpayers? It is indefensible to do anything but release that money so that the District of Columbia can begin to systematically plan and spend for its reform. That is what this body has tried to get the District to do for years. That is why with a control board in place, we must be set free to do that.

I have sponsored, with strong bipartisan support, the D.C. Fiscal Protection Act, which will be marked up on Wednesday and Thursday. The gentleman from Virginia [Mr. DAVIS], the chair of the D.C. Subcommittee, is strongly for this act because it would simply release the District to spend its own money. It is bad enough not to have full representation in this Congress, but to shut us down with our own money is nothing that any Member would want to defend.

When the markup occurs, the bill will be brought swiftly here. We believe it could be passed swiftly in the House. Do not condemn us to the waste of a month-to-month CR. The last shutdown forced us to pay our employees, in any case, for not working, because they were forced into administrative leave by the Congress of the United States. The waste and inefficiency involved for Federal agencies is unpardonable for a city in financial distress. It simply cannot be tolerated. The waste and inefficiency involved in a month-to-month continuing resolution will set the District back in a recovery that has hardly begun.

There are responsibilities that the District must take on. This body is correct to make sure that the District takes on those responsibilities. But who can deny that there is also a responsibility for this body. Only this body can pass a continuing resolution to free up the District to spend its own money. Even if our appropriation comes through, this bill must be passed, because the District must never face this possibility again. Already it has delayed our ability to go back into the market because now the market says "You can never know when they may be shut down," and that has all kinds of repercussions on Wall Street. We must improve the District's standing. The only way to do that is not even through our appropriation, not even through a 1-month CR. It is through an act, the D.C. Fiscal Protection Act, which we will mark up Wednesday and Thursday, which would broadcast to the markets that no matter what happens, if the D.C. appropriation has not been signed at the end of a fiscal year, the District can spend its own money. It can pay its debts.

That is the way to go at making the D.C. government more efficient. Let the example be set here in this body. Keep our feet to the fire. Let this body keep its own feet to the fire and do the right thing. Help us to start the District, finally, late in this fiscal year, with the efficiency that would obtain if we were able to spend our money to